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WHAT THE PRESS HIDES

How Washington crushed democratic rule in Guatemala

By Elmer Bendiner

ON Sunday morning, June 27, this was the situation in Guatemala. The invaders who nine days earlier crossed the border from Honduras were still scarcely more than 16 miles inside the country. Col. Castillo Armas, who in fast-moving communiques had advanced himself to general and then to Provisional President, was bogged down in the mud of the rainy season.

S. Kobak in Szpilki, Warsaw

A move to capture the key port of Puerto Barrios from the sea had failed. There had been no reports of garrison revolts, and the Army had said it would not be necessary to call up the reserves because the regulars were more than adequate. Behind the regulars, armed farmers patrolled the highways.

Diplomatically, Guatemala was gaining. She had scored in UN. Demonstrations had been gathering force throughout Latin America. The Chilean and Uruguayan Congresses had voted resolutions backing Guatemala. Peron, who in recent months had been edging closer to the U.S., pulled back as Argentine trade union syndicates rallied behind Guatemala and against U.S. imperialism.

THE PLANES CAME: The tide seemed to be clearly running in Guatemala's favor on Sunday morning. But though it was then unknown outside the country, the dead were piling up in the

(Continued on Page 4)

ASP Photo Workshop

She wanted to be the Wong-nong

That's Queen in Chinese, and there were many who competed (along with the would-be Queen Mothers), at the Chinese Children's Beauty Contest in New York on June 26. See picture spread on p. 9.

WAR & PEACE

What Chou-Nehru talks mean: Asia serves notice on U.S.

By Tabitha Petran

THE month of June, 1954, saw two decisive trends in world affairs crystallized and brought into focus by a week of top-level diplomatic talks in New Delhi, Rangoon (Burma), Berne and Washington. One is the rising prestige and influence of independent Asia, as China assumes great-power leadership. The other is Washington's near-isolation as its allies are driven by the realities of the new world balance of power and popular pressure to develop peaceful relations with socialist lands.

When China's Premier and Foreign Minister Chou En-lai and India's Nehru, leaders of 960 million people, met at New Delhi June 25, it was "one of the most significant events of recent times" (Hindustan **Times**), overshadowing—to Asians, at least—the Anglo-U.S. talks in Washington. Even to the U.S. press it was clear that Chou's "triumphal processional through South Asia" (N.Y. **Times**, 6/27) would do more to chart Asia's future than any decisions taken in Washington.

NEW FRIENDSHIPS: For one thing, it would reduce the potential participants in Secy. Dulles' Southeast Asia pact to a few white colonial powers or, as one Senator remarked, to "Thailand and Knowland." More important were the new relationships being forged among Communist and non-Communist powers in Asia. Out of Chou's talks in India, Burma and Indonesia were expected to come a series of friendship pacts, broadened trade relations, and possibly regular mutual consultation on Asian peace and security. The "largest single obstacle" to peace in Asia—it was agreed by independent non-Communist Asian governments, however anti-Communist—"is American opposition to recognition of Communist China and Peking's membership in the UN" (**Christian Science Monitor**, 6/24).

Belief that the U.S. attitude to China is today's greatest menace to world peace was the basic issue in all the June diplomatic talks around the world. Washington's efforts to isolate China have succeeded only in isolating the U.S.; and the rest of the world is now serving notice it will no longer follow along on this issue.

"PRETTY GOOD WORDS": At Geneva, Washington's refusal to deal with China brought humiliating defeat, and forced the U.S. to the sidelines while China won "a political triumph . . . general acceptance as a world power" (N.Y. **World Telegram**, 6/23). U.S. Undersecy. Smith's efforts to dissuade France's Premier and Foreign Minister Mendes-France from rushing to meet with Chou in Berne were in vain. The political framework for a settlement in Vietnam, which came out of the meeting, seemed not very different from the original Viet Minh proposals at Geneva: a unified Vietnam with a freely-elected government, France retaining economic and cultural interests.

The theme of British Foreign Secy. Eden's report to Commons on Geneva, on the eve of his and Churchill's visit

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FREEDOMS

Police-state bills slowed; UE rallies opposition

REP. LOUIS GRAHAM (R-Pa.), chairman of a House Judiciary subcommittee, is a man in a hurry. Last week he was being slowed down. His intention to conduct perfunctory two-day hearings on two bills drafted by Atty. Gen. Brownell to liquidate "communist-infiltrated" organizations and to establish a nationwide blacklist in private industry was upset, largely by efforts of the independent United Electrical Workers Union. Acting in a Paul Revere role of sounding the alarm, the UE forced an extension of the hearings and many a voice that might not have been raised will now be heard.

The bills, described by UE's Washington representative Russ Nixon as "the enabling legislation for the establishment of fascism in the U.S.", would

destroy trade unions and other organizations containing among their leaders any person described by an informer as a "communist." They would bar from employment "individuals who . . . may be reasonably believed to be disposed to commit acts of sabotage, espionage or other subversion."

LAWYERS HEARD: Reps. Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.) and Herman Eberharter (D-Pa.) also spoke up, and helped prevent the sneak-play planned to rush the bills to floor action before the country knew what was happening. Celler insisted the bills are so far-reaching in their effect that leading attorneys and representatives of bar associations should be invited to testify. Accordingly, spokesmen for the American Bar Assn., the Bar Assn. of the City of N.Y. and the Natl. Assn. of County Attorneys were to be heard during an extra day of hearings, June 30.

Statements by both the CIO and AFL were expected to be filed with the committee that day. Both organizations, on record against similar legislation, gave the Brownell bills little chance of passage in this session of Congress; but by last week both were alarmed after Sen. Homer Ferguson (R-Mich.), chairman of the Senate Republican Policy Committee, announced the measures would get "high priority."

HEAT TURNED ON: The publication of the AFL Labor's League for Political Education (6/11) denounced the bills but minimized the possibility of their passage. Remaining copies were run through the presses again with this overprint:

"Since this was written the Administration has turned on the heat for immediate passage of Brownell's bills. Write or wire your Congressmen and Senators at once!"

(Continued on Page 6)

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NATIONAL GUARDIAN 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.

No bananas today

EL CAJON, CALIF.

Because of the news from Guatemala, we have stopped, as of now, the purchase or eating of bananas until the government (which our hysterical press calls red) is again in full control and the fruit company subdued. **The Kargers**

This is it!

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

For some time I've been waiting for a mass movement to roll my way and pick me up with its momentum. Then I read about the Brownell bills to destroy all people's organizations and decided it was time to get off my chair. I find I can appeal to both neighbors and strangers, not as a representative of anyone, but just as a frightened voter—"Here, look, does this mean what I think it means?"—and some will write a letter to Congress.

See your minister! No minister would dare talk of brotherhood under this bill! Good statements have been made by Baptist leaders, AFL Pres. Meany and others which are very useful. UE has leaflets. GUARDIAN will not forget. I'm sure.

So pitch in—this it it, brother.

C. E.

Cleaning up Grover City

GROVER CITY, CALIF.

I loan my GUARDIAN to some friends in nearby Oceano. They ordered a Hamilton Beach vacuum from the Guardian Buying Service. They liked it so well that I also ordered one and am well pleased with it. **E. G. Beaumont**

Un-Americans at work

GIG HARBOR, WASH.

As one of the witnesses called before the House Un-American Activities Committee hearings in Seattle last month, I was unable to get my story to the press. I ask that you print it. The atmosphere of this hearing is unbelievable in intimidation. My subpena, as did many others, called for my presence at 9:30 a.m. I arrived with my counsel, as did many others. We found that the small commissioner's chambers were packed with club ladies and legionnaires, while we who were witnesses could not even get inside to hear what the "government" witness, Barbara Hartle, was saying about us.

I am 50 and not a Trojan. My attorney finally got me inside, and a friend gave me a seat. My counsel had to sit on the floor. No witness dared leave, not knowing when he'd be called. Mrs. Hartle was given hours of time and repeatedly asked "Now is it not true that. . ." and "Is it not likely that . . ." whereat she would say, "Oh, yes, it is true."

"Unfriendly" witnesses like me were hustled along and if we wanted to talk to counsel for a minute or so, were urged to hurry. We were constantly exhorted to "come forward and tell what we knew and be given fair and courteous hearing." Answers were supposed to be brief. As I am a social worker, whose work and education is neither simple nor brief, I told them I'd be glad to describe it but feared if I did so, I'd be accused, like others, of "filibustering." Snapped Rep. Jackson of California, then in the chair, "Then we won't have it at all!"

You can see it's important for the people to know the truth and defeat the real Un-Americans at the next election. And meantime, to try to stop these infamous procedures. Remember, it's nothing new; my brothers, George and Donald Wheeler, have been scurriously attacked over a long period of time; so have many others trying to preserve our basic freedoms.

Jean Schuddekopf

GUATEMALA

We have a supply of the June 28 issue on the situation in Guatemala. This issue is one your friends, shopmates and acquainfances will want to see. You may obtain a bundle by writing to: GUATEMALA ISSUE, 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y. Bundle rate: 4c per copy.

George Evans, Circulation Manager

How crazy can you get dept.

"My fellow worker delegate and I were amazed to hear Mr. Altman, a government representative of Poland, make a number of completely false statements regarding conditions within the U. S. . . . Mr. Altman referred to the number of older salaried employes of 35 and 40 in the U. S., France and England . . . who may have difficulty securing a position in the event of unemployment. I would like to remind the Polish government representative that in a free society it is impossible to legislate against people getting old."

From a speech by Pres. Howard Coughlin of the Office Employes Intl. Union at an ILO meeting in Geneva, reported in the union's publication, **White Collar** (6/54).

Free one-year sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: Anonymous, N. Y.

Patterson and Humphrey

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

I have written to Treasury Secy. George M. Humphrey:

"On June 2 Mr. William L. Patterson, exec. secy. of the Civil Rights Congress, was served with a court order to deliver names and addresses of all CRC contributors to the Intelligence unit of the department you head, the clear implication being that refusal to do so will place him in contempt, subject to a jail sentence.

"For a long period I have had the privilege of working at CRC as a volunteer. Its aims are precisely what its title implies. It engages, ceaselessly and with courage, in battles to protect those whose civil rights are threatened in defiance of the guarantees in the Constitution. Knowing this man as I do, no matter what the consequences to him, it would be unthinkable for William L. Patterson to be guilty of unprincipled betrayal in surrendering supporters' names, knowing very well that such lists would be turned over to whichever investigating committee might please to harass them.

"Everybody who has worked with William L. Patterson has for him not alone a great respect but a warm affection. So you can understand my shock and disgust at the Treasury Dept.'s disingenuously oblique attack on him. I can only concede that it is an effort to silence the voice of an American fearlessly loyal to the concept that 'The true administration of justice is the foundation of good government,' and to cripple the work of an organization whose good work and purpose are in complete harmony with the Constitution." **Muriel I. Symington**

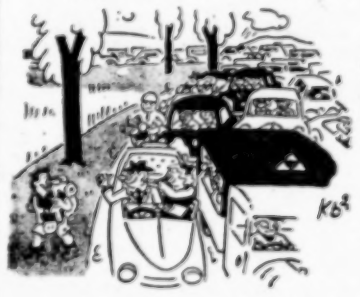
Mr. Patterson was found guilty of contempt of court June 29 by Federal Judge J. F. X. McGohey, for not producing CRC records for Internal Revenue Bureau examination. He was sentenced to 90 days in jail "unless he purged himself within that time by complying with the order." Ed.

Hercules on short rations

HOT SPRINGS, ARK.

The GUARDIAN was born in poverty and nourished with meager rations. Its further growth depends largely on what food (financial) it'll get. For its age and size it has done a herculean job. All progressives and peace-loving people can not afford to neglect the GUARDIAN now, when the most world-shaking events are taking place everywhere. We must do everything to help the GUARDIAN get around more, much more.

To this end, I'm enclosing herewith $25 dollars and my high hopes that there will be more than the needed money rolling in to 17 Murray Street. **Louis Gold**



Canard Enchaine, Paris

SUMMERTIME

"No thanks. Since I'm in a hurry, I'll walk."

Send Marc back!

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Marcantonio for Congress. The 18th District is fed up to the ears with the present do-nothing Donovan, who allegedly is representing the people in Congress today. How many political hacks and money boys do we have to bear before we finally rebel and put in our people's choice? The tenant problem alone in this district is mounting higher each day, as low-cost housing is torn down and replaced by parking lots and wealthy apartments. Donovan turns deaf ears to tenants and an outstretched hand to his wealthy benefactors.

Marc's record as a fighter and champion of people's rights will always go on, and our support must go out to Marc to get him back into Congress in 1954. Write in your support to Marc.

J. B. Cormyer

Exodus, 20:13

DRY BRANCH, W. VA.

Yes, we are a great Christian nation. Yes, we believe what the Bible says. Do we? Exodus, 20:13: "Thou shalt not kill." And Jesus said: "Put up the sword for all that take the sword shall perish with the sword."

A few years ago, this nation was drafting young men and women into the service to fight for and with Soviet Russia; today this nation is trying to ally forces against Russia in a war that is not justified. I read the papers, not just the headlines, and I see that Russia wants peace, and I don't care how many call me a damn commie.

I am against war and all its tormenting hells. I am against oppression and the oppressors. I wish for the day when war and its causes are cast into the sea as a millstone and are no more. I long for the day when all people will go upon the earth in brother love, regardless of race, kindred or tongues.

But for as long as the millionaires rule with the system's overproduction plan, the most of us will be without work for longer and longer periods and there will be more wars and bigger wars.

G. E. Bryant

Liberals next?

BURBANK, CALIF.

Did you know that last week in Elysian Park a regular Concentration Camp (for Mexicans) was set up, barbed wire and all? It is rumored this action against Mexicans is to get Angelenos acclimated to the idea—"liberals next." It was a pleasure to hear Edwin Canham, last evening, say Uncle Sam was trying to carry a pail of water on each shoulder and talk out of both sides of his mouth. Did you hear him?

Best regards to the GUARDIAN which is as water in a "dry and thirsty land."

Frances Duncan Manning

The grin on the monkey

PROVO, UTAH

In the early days of Utah, a manufacturer sent his son out here to open up new territory for his products. The young salesman had an ample supply of expense money and carried a six-shooter.

His first stop was Price, where he proceeded to buy good will by spending. That was "duck soup" for Bob Crocket, the town moocher. Bob was always drunk but never bought any whiskey. Bob induced the salesman to go to Salt Lake City for a real spree. One day in Salt Lake City was too much for the young salesman. He went down, was taken to the hotel, put to bed, with his gun tucked under his pillow.

Next morning the hotel's mascot monkey jumped over the transom, up on the dresser and knocked over a pitcher of water. That woke up the salesman. The monkey sat grinning at him. The salesman reached for his gun, and said: "If you are a monkey, you are in a terrible fix; and if you are not a monkey, I'm in a terrible fix."

Are our diplomats, like the salesman, not sure what they are seeing? **E. A. Mitchell**

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"I should be proud if the Supreme Court convicted me of abhorring war, and doing all in my power to oppose it. . . . Oh, where is the swift vengeance of Jehovah, that it does not fall upon the hosts of those who are marshaling machine-guns against the hunger-stricken people?"

—HELEN KELLER (letter to Eugene V. Debs entering prison, 1919).

REPORT TO READERS

Let's Make It Unanimous

THOSE BURSTS OF RED-FIRE which have headed this page for the last four issues have been to call attention to a spring and summer accumulation of unrenewed subscriptions—which we would most certainly like to see renewed before the long dry spell sets in between now and Labor Day.

An always-prompt 10 per cent has already responded but the remainder is still an awesome pile of 10,000 due and overdue renewals; and the chances are still a little better than one in three that YOUR SUB IS AMONG THEM.

Your address-plate on P. 1 or on your subscription wrapper tells the story: if it is addressed in red ink, your sub is in arrears and the Guardian Angel in the opposite corner of this page suggests a seasonal method of getting your renewal to us fastest.

NEWSSTAND AND BUNDLE-ORDER READERS needn't be backward about coming forward, either. If you get your paper through a bundle order, check and make sure the bundle is paid for up to date. If you buy your GUARDIAN at a newsstand, buy a couple next week and pass one on to a friend. If you are a "Buck-of-the-Month" Sustainer, make sure that your monthly bucks do double duty throughout the summer by introducing the GUARDIAN to new friends.

If you are just a plain, faithful, paid-up subscriber, don't rest on those laurels; write in for a few Prepaid Introductory Sub Blanks ($1 each) and ask some of your friends to try the GUARDIAN for the rest of the year.

THIS IS THE TIME for all good readers to make it unanimous for the rest of 1954. **—THE EDITORS**

The Rosenberg Cantata

BRONX, N. Y.

Thank you for printing the Rosenberg Cantata. This family has been one of the constant subscribers and faithful readers of the GUARDIAN, so you can see that it made us all feel good.

My older boy took his first job after school about a year and a half ago. Promptly he wrote a letter to the GUARDIAN, enclosing $2 from his first week's pay, and pledging himself to send a dollar a week thereafter. This pledge, however, has not been kept. Don't sue him. He is a bankrupt.

Best to all the staff; sincerely and with the universal wish for the continuance of the human race.

Mike Gold

Connecticut liberties

BRIDGEPORT, CONN.

I am working on compiling a record of organizations and individuals in Connecticut who have expressed themselves in defense of civil liberties, and in particular, in opposition to the Smith Act. I would greatly appreciate any help your paper might offer in this task.

Shirley Dichter

Eden on Earth

HALLIDAY, N. D.

Praying, laboring and hoping that mankind will come to its normal senses and discern that the time is here that we can have not only peace, but Eden on earth in these days—if we have common sense and a scientifically planned and controlled social order, by putting the resources at our disposal to their proper use for service to all. **J. C. Swenson**

This is United Fruit — the octopus with a Boston accent

LA FRUTERA—the United Fruit Co.—has pleaded innocent to any complicity in the attack on Guatemala, but the circumstantial evidence is against her. She has a record of similar assaults, was at the scene of the crime and she stands to inherit most of the assets if the victim succumbs.

Since the end of the last century, by bribery and king-making, La Frutera has built an $80,000,000 monopoly. She operates 27,887 acres of banana land and controls a far larger acreage through contracts with local planters. By controlling the export of bananas she converts the Guatemalan growers into field agents.

DOUBLE MONOPOLY: The banana monopoly is held together by a monopoly of all land and sea transportation throughout the country. It built few rail lines and piers, but gained control over all in a series of contracts. These gave the company bargain-rate concessions over existing facilities which rendered its operations in Guatemala almost tax free. In some cases the concessions were given in return for promises of further development. For instance, exclusive rights to the piers of Puerto Barrios were originally hinged on the monopoly's promise to develop the Pacific port of San Jose. Ships that call at San Jose must still drop anchor in the harbor and transport cargoes by lighter. This circumstance keeps La Frutera's east coast port the only major channel of the country's commerce. Railroad lines run mainly where bananas grow.

Coffee concerns La Frutera principally as a source of revenue for its subsidiary, Intl. Railways of Central America. That is why coffee growers on the west coast must ship at great expense (and great profit to the railroad) across country to Puerto Barrios instead of to San Jose on the Pacific.

THE COLOSSUS: By fixing freight rates and setting prices, La Frutera can force the Guatemalan growers to play ball or go out of business. La Frutera operates throughout the Caribbean where it owns 500,000 acres of improved lands, a fleet of 68 ships, buildings valued at $46,364,649, $3,748,488 worth of livestock, a great number of sugar mills, refineries, docks and wharves. Its total holdings in the western hemisphere are set at $516,251,744.37; those in Europe at $20,633,896.65. La Frutera has opposed Guatemalan government since the revolution because it sought

Mitelberg in Humanite, Paris

". . . And on the third day God created the United Fruit Company. After that, a foreign people, the Guatemalans, settled on these lands."

to revise the company's contracts to conform to the Guatemalan constitution. This would give Guatemala a slightly larger portion of the revenue. The government did not accede to the company's demand that unions be prevented from demanding wage raises; it applied the land reform to La Frutera, which meant the buying of unused land (at prices fixed by the company's own evaluations on its tax reports) and its distribution to farmers.

None of these steps would wipe out the company; there was no confiscation. They do threaten the continued monopoly of La Frutera and its power to shake governments and strangle the economy. La Frutera has called for help. These are the reasons help came quickly. Help came too because of La Frutera's U.S. connections.

UP FROM BOSTON: United Fruit, with assets of more than half a billion dollars, is controlled by the big Boston financial group and the House of Morgan. Its bank is the First National of Boston, with which it shares several cross dictatorships. Several key men in the Eisenhower Administration are connected with this banking group and, directly or indirectly, with United Fruit. Among them:

THOMAS DUDLEY CABOT, Director of Intl. Security Affairs for the State Dept. He was a director of United Fruit, First National of Boston, and one of the 127 men in the U.S. with directorships in two or more billion-dollar corporations.

JOHN MOORS CABOT, former Asst. Secy. of State for Inter-American Affairs, brother of Thomas Dudley Cabot.

HENRY CABOT LODGE Jr., U.S. delegate to the UN, is a cousin of the Cabots. His family is allied with the Morgan financial groups.

ROBERT CUTLER, Administrative Asst. to the President, dealing with the Natl. Security Council. He was formerly president and director of the Old Colony Trust, a Boston bank consolidated with First National of Boston.

SINCLAIR WEEKS, Secy. of Commerce, is a director of Boston's First National.

THE DULLES BOYS: Secy. of State Dulles has special interests in United Fruit Co. and Central America. His law firm, Sullivan & Cromwell, is counsel for Intl. Railways, the United Fruit railroad system in Guatemala. The Schroder bank with which Central Intelligence Agency head, Allen Dulles, was long connected, was the bank used by German coffee interests in Guatemala until they were expropriated in World War II.

The Dulles brothers, in their latest role in Guatemala, are behaving in a familiar pattern. Nelson Cromwell (the Cromwell of Sullivan & Cromwell) was a key conspirator in the 1903 Panamanian revolution again Colombia. This revolution was inspired and aided by President Theodore Roosevelt to give the U.S. a pretext to seize the Panama Canal zone.

UNITED NATIONS

U.S. maneuvering on Guatemala a severe blow to UN

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.

AFTER Guatemala appealed to the Security Council to enforce its own unanimously-adopted cease-fire resolution, U.S. maneuvering to kill the appeal generated a cynicism about the U.S. and a disgust unparalleled in UN history. These actions have deeply disturbed diplomats from all over the world, including many friendly to U.S.:

• Use by the mighty U.S. of its accidental position as June Security Council president to deny Guatemala, among the smallest UN members, its right to an emergency Council session. No other occasion was recalled when a Council president had declined to summon that body when asked by a UN member. Guatemala appealed three times in three days for a Council session to enforce the June 20 cease-fire resolution; the U.S.'s Lodge ignored them all.

• Lodge's five days of feverish maneuverings to line up enough votes against discussing Guatemala's appeal. With the votes of Formosa, Turkey, Brazil, Colombia already in his pocket, Lodge twisted the arms of the British and French delegates—who maintained they could not vote against putting Guatemala's plea on the agenda—until he convinced them to abstain. Obvious French and British embarrassment was underlined by Lebanon's Dr. Malik at the five-hour Council session June 25 which refused to put the Guatemala case on the agenda—five votes against, four in favor (U.S.S.R., Lebanon, New Zealand, Denmark), and two abstentions. Malik with some irony pointed out that after listening attentively to the British and French delegates he found their arguments to be not against adoption, not even for abstaining, but for adoption. Lodge's pressure on Britain and France was apparent in his speech near the session's end: the Council's intervention in the case, he said, could mean dissolution of UN.

• Lodge's illegal references to the Brazil-Colombia resolution referring the Guatemala case to the OAS (Organization of American States)—which the U.S.S.R. had vetoed—as a "recommendation," while completely ignoring the unanimous June 20 cease-fire resolution. Many saw this as a new low in irresponsible diplomacy.

• The patent contradictions and absurdities of the U.S. position. In both Indo-China and Korea the U.S. claimed that attacks by soldiers of one nationality against soldiers of the same nationality in what is historically the same country constitute aggression. But the crossing of an international frontier by soldiers of apparently several nationalities, armed and equipped by outside powers, with the aim of overthrowing a legally-elected government, is—in the U.S. dictionary—"civil war." At the same time the U.S. insists that this "civil war" must be taken before the OAS, which does not intervene in civil wars, while the Security Council under some circumstances may.

"AN EMPTY SHELL"? Most serious in the eyes of UN diplomats was the U.S. refusal to accept the Security Council's prime responsibility in keeping the peace—in the Western Hemisphere as well as the rest of the world. Insisting on priority of OAS authority in this hemisphere, Lodge said the Senate would never have approved U.S. participation in UN if it had not believed this to be true, and warned that any attempt to impose Security Council authority in this hemisphere over U.S. objection would wreck UN.

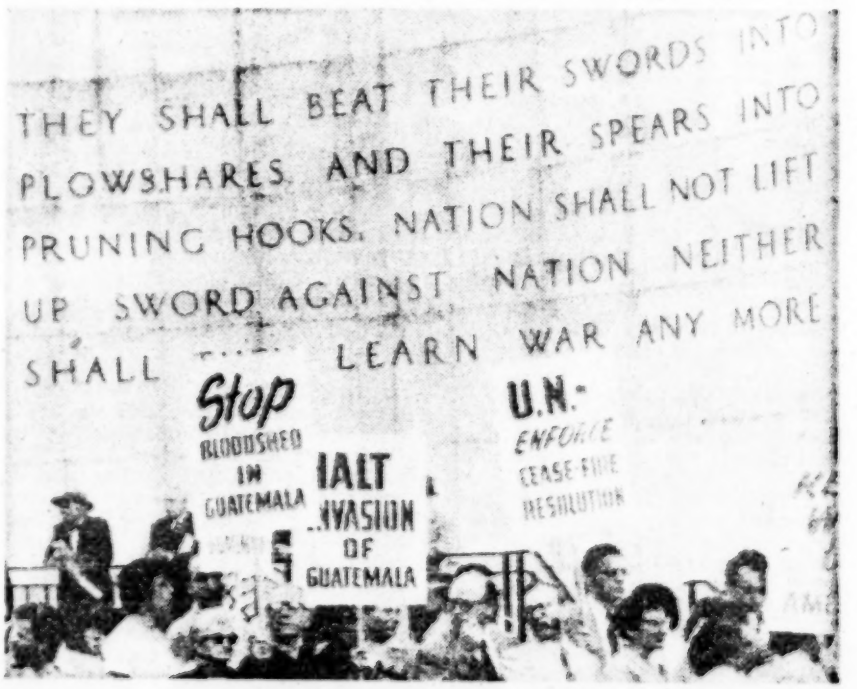
The U.S. thus denied the right of a member of a regional organization to reject the good offices of that organization, as Guatemala had done, and take its case to the supreme international authority, UN. The U.S.S.R.'s Tsarapkin said in the Council session what many diplomats said privately:

> "The real question is: Will UN deal with the question of maintaining peace and security in the whole world or will it be restricted in its duties by U.S. whims—to Europe, Asia, perhaps Africa? [This new doctrine] is the beginning of an undermining attempt to shake UN's foundations. If whole continents are to be moved out from under UN jurisdiction, this organization becomes an empty shell."

THE VICTIM—UN: This new U.S. doctrine may prove very embarrassing to the U.S., especially at a time when the U.S. is trying to use UN to advance its interests in the Far East.

Lodge's maneuverings succeeded in giving the aggressor forces in Guatemala time and a screen behind which to operate. But at UN there was serious doubt that the U.S. was the victor in this affair. Observers pointed to the irreparable damage done U.S. prestige at UN, the new heavy strains put on the U.S.'s alliances, multiplying troubles sure to develop for the U.S. in Latin America. But most of all they pointed to the damage done to UN itself as the first resort of victims of aggression.

Tabitha Petran



THE PROPHET WENT UNHEEDED

At the United Nations headquarters in New York on June 24, 1,000 Americans marched, before the inscription from Isaiah, asking plowshares, not swords for Guatemala, urging UN to make peace, oppose aggression there.

Guatemala story

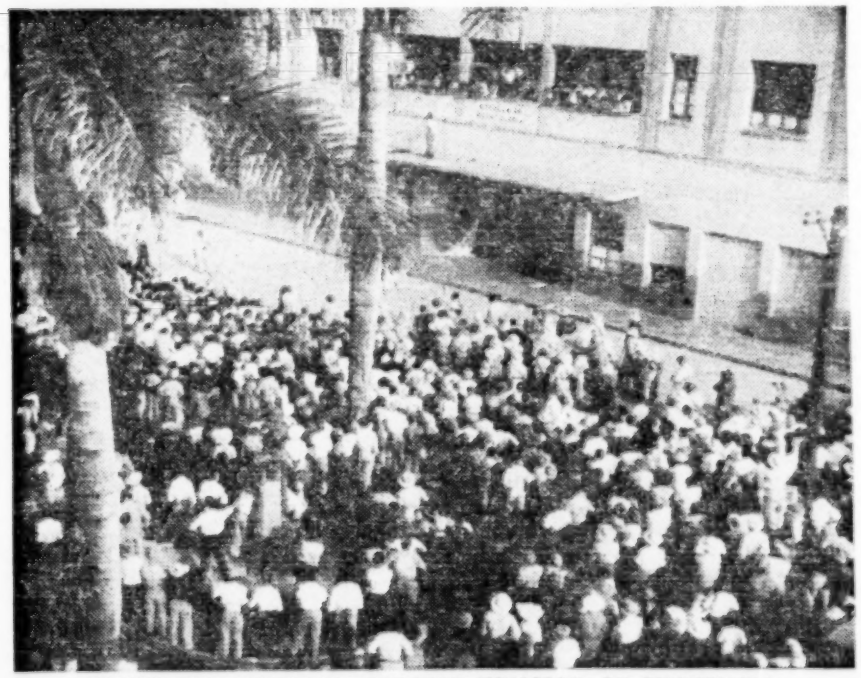
(Continued from Page 1)

streets of Zacapa, Gualan, Chiquimula. While reporters covering the war at Castillo Armas' invasion headquarters called it "bloodless" and "comic-opera," Guatemala for 10 days had been in agony.

Waves of U.S.-made P-47 Thunderbolts had swept in from Honduras over towns which Washington had deprived of means to defend themselves. Guatemala's mountains were ramparts that could hold back Castillo Armas, but they could not stop the planes. The irregulars rallying behind the army were useless in the face of air assault.

A few anti-aircraft batteries guarded some installations. The rest of the land lay open. The invaders' radio threatened heavier bombardment of the capital. (Though Thunderbolts are obsolete in terms of modern warfare their bombs and bullets are as deadly as they were in World War II when no defense exists.)

WASHINGTON'S TERMS: At noon on June 27, Foreign Minister Guillermo Toriello telephoned U.S. Ambassador Peurifoy and asked him to come to the



HONDURAS: STUDENTS PROTEST INVASION OF GUATEMALA
A huge banner was draped across the front of the Natl. School of Medicine on June 25 showing Uncle Sam sitting on a map of Guatemala dangling a puppet Col. Castillo Armas. The cops broke up the demonstration, wounding seven. But they could not drown the shouts of "Down with Yankee intervention."

National Palace, already riddled by strafing attacks. According to Scripps-Howard reporter Charles T. Lucey, Toriello then told the Ambassador that he, Peurifoy, could stop the war in 15 minutes. Toriello suggested that an anti-communist military junta might take over, but he warned that if the universally-hated Castillo Armas were placed in power there would be no stopping the bloodshed.

The U.S. Ambassador laid down as a condition: a cleanup—which seemed a polite term for a bloodletting..

"A CLEAN SWEEP": In the early afternoon the U.S. Ambassador's telephone rang again. Col.. Enrique Diaz, chief of Guatemala's armed forces, invited him to his house. A purely military man with personal loyalty to Col. (President) Arbenz but no discernible political conviction, Diaz asked if Peurifoy would approve if the Army took over, eliminated Communists from government offices (they held only minor ones), and outlawed the Labor Party (Communist). Making clear his reason for capitulation, Diaz said:

> "Bodies lie in the streets and the buzzards feast on them."

The Ambassador of the U.S., which had disclaimed all responsibility for the invasion, laid down the terms of surrender. Lucey reported:

> "Mr. Peurifoy said merely getting them [Communists] out of the government would not be enough. The ambassador said that merely abolishing the leftist parties [presumably all political parties since all supported the government] isn't always the answer."

Diaz asked the Ambassador whether Col. Arbenz could remain as President. "Mr. Peurifoy said he thought if there were to be a change it should be a clean sweep."

NOT ENOUGH: At 9 p.m. President Arbenz broadcast over the government radio:

> "In truth those who unleashed the aggression are the United Fruit Co. and the other American monopolies which have invested capital in Latin America, aided by Guatemalan exiles. They are using communism as a pretext . . . but the truth is to be found elsewhere. . . To return peace to Guatemala I have determined to leave the power in the hands of Col. Carlos Enrique Diaz, chief of the armed forces of the republic. . . . I will go on fighting for the liberty of my country and for democracy. Cost what it might I would fight to the end. But that cost does not include the destruction of our country. And that would have to occur if we kept on fighting."

Diaz then offered to continue the fight, clearly mindful of Toriello's warning that should Castillo Armas come to power the bloodshed would not end. The Labor Party was abolished but there were no mass arrests. The U.S. said it found the Diaz accession to power "reassuring" but let it be known that it was not quite enough. Arbenz and his family meanwhile had sought refuge in the Argentine Embassy.

"GOOD OFFICES": Within hours after his accession to office, Diaz agreed to share his power with two others in a three-man military junta, including the bitterly anti-Arbenz Col. Elfego Monzon. Hours later Diaz was out and Monzon at the head of another junta was installed. (Diaz joined Arbenz and many of his administration leaders at the Argentine Embassy.)

Monzon showed no hesitation in meeting all surrender terms laid down by Peurifoy. The jails were quickly filled with those who had supported the government. The Labor Party's paper was suppressed, its headquarters seized. Under martial law farmers were ordered to surrender their arms within 24 hours under penalty of death. Over the country the hunt was on for the defenders of the late legally-elected government of Guatemala.

The steps won instant U.S. approval. The N.Y. **Times** (6/30) reported:

> "Washington's willingness to use its good offices for a cease-fire in Guatemala reflected a general view here that the regime of Col. Monzon merited at least the benefit of the doubt with respect to his getting ahead with a housecleaning of Communists."

THE FACT-FINDERS: Through Ambassador Peurifoy in Guatemala and Asst. Secy. of State Henry F. Holland a "cease-fire" was arranged and a meeting set up between Cols. Monzon and Armas at El Salvador. It was understood that Armas would name the spot he wished to occupy in the new military junta to rule Guatemala.

For days the Inter-American Peace Committee had been waiting in Washington to take off for Guatemala on a "fact-finding" trip to probe Guatemala's charges of aggression.. On Tuesday as Col. Monzon took over, the Peace Committee took off. The rest of the elaborate inter-American machinery, painstakingly rigged by the U.S. State Dept. to hang Guatemala, was being quickly dismantled.

THE PEOPLE: The problem of dismantling democracy in Guatemala would be harder. It would be easy to repeal the Agrarian Reform Law, difficult to make farmers give back the land; easy to disband the trade unions but harder to wipe out the memory of 10 years of unionism.

Guatemala is a country of mountain and forest. The farmers, unlikely to give up the arms they were given in the last days of the fighting, could harry a dictator and defy even the Ambassador. Making the U.S. victory even more uneasy was the outraged anger of Latin Americans; every pro-U.S. government was already shaken. The assault on Guatemala had been meant as an object lesson to Latin Americans. It seemed more likely to be remembered as a battle cry.

"NOTHING CAN STOP IT": In Europe, too, the U.S. had strained the bonds with its allies. The French and British press were bitter even before the final blow. **Le Monde** said editorially:

> "This policy of force, from all evidence inspired by the U.S., has only a little time to run. An immense movement for independence is shaping up all over Latin America as throughout the colonial world under European rule. Nothing can stop it."

Liberation (Paris) said bluntly: "The aggressor is in Washington." The British Bevanite weekly **Tribune** called the Guatemalan invasion

> ". . . one of the dirtiest pieces of counter-revolution ever perpetrated in the name of the free world."

The U.S. had weakened itself all over the world to gain perhaps nothing more than a blood-bath and an unending guerrilla war in the mountains of Guatemala.

Nehru & Chou — Winnie & Ike

After three days of talks in New Delhi, Prime Ministers Chou and Nehru of China and India (two countries with more combined population than all Europe and the Americas) issued this statement last week:

RECENTLY India and China have come to an agreement in which they have laid down certain principles which should guide relations between the two countries. These principles are:

First, mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty; secondly, nonaggression; thirdly, noninterference in each other's internal affairs; fourthly, equality and mutual benefit; fifthly, peaceful co-existence.

The Prime Ministers reaffirmed these principles and felt that they should be applied in their relations with other countries in Asia as well as in other parts of the world.

If these principles are applied not only between the various countries but also in international relations generally, they would form a solid foundation for peace and security, and the fears and apprehensions that exist today would give place to a feeling of confidence.

The Prime Ministers recognized that different social and political systems exist in various parts of Asia and the world. If, however, the above-mentioned principles are accepted and acted upon, and there is no interference by any one country with another, these differences should not come in the way of peace or create conflicts.

With the assurance of territorial integrity and the sovereignty of each country and of nonaggression, there would be peaceful co-existence and friendly relations between the countries concerned. This would lessen the tensions that exist in the world today and help in creating a climate of peace.

In particular, the Prime Ministers hoped that these principles would be applied to the solution of problems in Indo-China, where a political settlement should aim at the creation of free, democratic, unified and independent states which should not be used for aggressive purposes or be subjected to foreign intervention. This will lead to the growth of self-confidence in these countries as well as to friendly relations between them and their neighbors. . . .

ALSO last week President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Churchill issued a statement "reaffirming the Atlantic Charter" and "upholding the principle of self-government"; stating that peace would be aided by "general and drastic" disarmament; that they would continue to support UN, and be ready to "render appropriate and feasible assistance, when desired by the peoples of the affected countries," to regional organizations to "preserve the peace"; and they would "develop and maintain the spiritual, economic and military strength necessary to pursue these purposes effectively."

The reaffirmation of the Atlantic Charter came the same day that democratic government was finally overthrown by force in Guatemala at Washington's instigation. The Atlantic Charter (1941) abjured any "aggrandizement, territorial or other," affirmed U.S. and British "respect for the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live."

How the banana got its golden color

From the Bureau of Investment Research of Eastman-Dillon, one of Wall St.'s biggest investment houses:

"The stock of the United Fruit Co. is probably one of the least appreciated among the better grade investment issues because of the tendency to overemphasize the few negative factors surrounding it rather than stressing its strong basic features. . . . A small uncultivated acreage in Guatemala was all that was expropriated. . . . [The company] has less than 15% of its total productive acreage and 10% of the value of its tropical assets [located in Guatemala]. . . . The Company's financial position has never been stronger . . . [It] has enjoyed an outstanding record of consistently good earnings and dividends over a long period of years. Dividend payments have been uninterrupted since 1899 when it was originally organized and have been generally liberal . . . [Eastman-Dillon expects its regular $3 dividend will be declared this year] plus an extra of at least 50c a share."

War & Peace

(Continued from Page 1)

to Washington, was that world peace largely depends on a more realistic and reasonable U. S. attitude toward China. Churchill later summed up this thesis for Congressmen in declaring himself

". . . a strong supporter of peaceful co-existence with China. I know some think this almost heresy. Nevertheless, Eden's two words are pretty good words. To jaw-jaw is always better than to war-war."

It was underlined by the arrival in London of an 11-member Chinese trade delegation, the first from that country since World War II. The mission, warmly greeted by representatives of 48 business firms, will prepare the way for a permanent Chinese trade office in London.

Eden's speech, his strongest since the Tories took office in 1951, outlined what is in effect almost a new British foreign policy. Its gist was

". . . the strong desire for reconciliation with Russia and China . . . [Hence] a readiness to make concessions to the Communists . . . and to run the risk of damaging Anglo-American relations" (N. Y. **Herald Tribune**, 6/27).

TOWARD EXTERMINATION: The impetus for this turn in British policy came last spring with Washington's H-bomb tests and frantic efforts to expand the Indo-China war into an all-Asian conflict. For Britain, the H-bomb spelt extermination in war. Humiliatingly denied any information on the tests, the British government saw that the veto it claimed over U. S. use of the bombs in war would not be honored. This fact, probably more than

Vicky in New Statesman, London

The Siamese twins.

any other, influenced Churchill to try for a more independent policy based on developing relations with the Communist powers.

This Churchill-Eden policy has the almost unanimous support of the British people, all political parties, and also of Western Europe; the intense pressure put on the British leaders in Washington cannot materially change it. But it is essentially a policy for Asia.

ANOTHER FIASCO? In Europe, Britain remains committed to the cold war, to rearmament of W. Germany as the spearhead of the anti-Soviet coalition. The Labour Party leadership's current all-out campaign to put down the popular rebellion against rearming Germany is clearly designed to prevent

collapse of the whole cold-war policy.

Yet this rebellion is already so great that politicians concede Labour approval of German rearmament may be reversed at its September conference. The Conservatives are increasingly split on the question. Moreover, the U. S.-British policy to rearm W. Germany and grant it sovereignty, in or out of the European army, may lead to as great a fiasco for Washington's policy in Europe as in Asia. Once granted sovereignty, the Bonn government is unlikely to be able to resist the pressures in W. Germany for direct negotiations with already sovereign E. Germany for German unity.

BANKRUPTCY & THREATS: Eden's speech, proposing a Locarno-type non-aggression pact between Communist and Western powers in S. E. Asia, "shocked," "dismayed" and "angered" Washington. The proposal seemed to make U. S. recognition of China a prior condition for British participation in Secy. Dulles' proposed anti-Communist pact. It came only a few hours after Dulles and Bedell Smith told Congressmen only one good thing came out of Geneva—a warmer attitude by Britain and the Colombo powers towards the S. E. Asia pact.

In face of what even the Alsop brothers called "the near-bankruptcy of American policy" (6/28), Washington could produce only threats to try to force Britain—and France, too—back into line. The nature of the threats was indicated in an obviously officially-inspired rash of newspaper articles. These reported that the U. S. "wants to reduce its ties with Britain and France," predicted "drastic revision" of U. S. alliances "on the issue of colonialism," indicated the U. S. "wants more freedom of action in Asia, Africa and Latin America." Washington was threatening, in effect, to take over directly—in the guise of insisting on independence for—portions of the British and French empires.

COLLAPSING PRESTIGE: The threats failed to evoke "any shocked re-examination of British policy, if that was their intent" (**NYT**, 6/25). They seemed to outline a "go-it-alone" policy such as Sens. Knowland and McCarthy most loudly advocate; whether they were bluff, trial balloon, or a real step closer to that policy, was not yet clear. But a continued weakening of Washington's alliances was inevitable unless it could readjust its policies to fit the facts of today's world—meaning, above all, recognition of China.

Yet it has "no notion of altering the shape of its faltering foreign policy" (Doris Fleeson, N. Y. **Post**, 6/24). **CSM**'s Richard Strout, returning from a trip to London, described Washington's attitude (6/23) as one of "complacency amounting to arrogance." Its actions could but further cut down the U. S.'s already sharply reduced prestige and influence. Its blunt warning that it would wreck UN rather than accept UN authority in the Western Hemisphere inflicted what the N. Y. **Post** called "a damage to U. S. prestige [which] cannot be exaggerated." That prestige "suffered a severe blow throughout Latin America" (**NYT**, 6/27)—and the "free world"—as a result of Washington's efforts to overthrow the legal government of Guatemala.

PIRACY: Sinking of a British ship by the forces invading Guatemala came on the heels of angry British and European reaction to Washington's demand for the right to search ships at sea, to enforce its arms embargo on Guatemala. The war of 1812, and in part World War I, were fought to preserve freedom of the seas. But in the Caribbean, as along the China coast, Washington was backing piracy—illegal seizures of and attacks on unarmed merchant ships by bandit "governments" like those of Chiang Kai-shek and Castillo Armas.

Americans today (**CSM**, 6/26) "have little idea of the extent to which their government and nation is becoming isolated from nearly all other free governments and nations." As that realization begins to sink in, the first job of Americans is to force their government to end its flouting of international law and of the will of peoples everywhere for peace and economic and social advance.

Herblock in Washington Post

"How long is it since we unleashed Chiang Kai-shek?"

Quakers oppose Indo-China internention

OPPOSING U. S. military intervention in Indo-China, a statement by the American Friends Service Comm. (Quakers) executive board on June 11 urged fellow-Americans to "understand the legitimate yearnings of Asian peoples for independence and for a better standard of life." The statement continues:

"These . . . fundamental issues . . . are not issues that can be met by military threats . . . [but] will require profound changes in the present U. S. policy toward the area. This means: an immediate cease-fire . . . encouragement to the French to grant independence . . . support of free elections in Viet Nam and a willingness to abide by the results even if they should prove distasteful to the U. S. . . . economic assistance to Laos and Cambodia and the new government of Viet Nam. . . .

"A just and durable peace in Indo-China . . . can best be handled by the United Nations, provided . . . [it] can be returned to its original status. . . . We believe that in the present world the attempt to convert the UN into an instrument of collective security courts disaster . . . it would be far wiser to strengthen its mediation machinery and support the principle of universal membership. . . . Obviously this will require the admittance of Communist China."

Correction

The address of the California Committee to Prevent Abuse of the Doctor Draft Law is Box 95, Sausalito, Calif. The address given in the story on the Doctor Draft Law (GUARDIAN, 6/21) was incorrect.

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From a Warner & Swasey ad in U. S. News, June 18, 1954.

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THE SUPREME COURT DECISION

What the South is doing to enforce the ban on jimcrow schools

By Eugene Gordon

THE U. S. SUPREME COURT on May 17 handed down two unanimous opinions on jimcrow public schools. The first, dealing with Delaware, Kansas, Virginia and S. Carolina, declared "such segregation is a denial of the equal protection of the law." The second said it was "unthinkable that the same Constitution would impose a lesser duty on the federal government" with respect to schools in the Dist. of Columbia. .

President Eisenhower told the D. C. Commissioners on May 18 he hoped Washington would be a model for other affected areas. A week later Schools Supt. Corning told the Board of Education it had "the responsibility for accomplishing the complete desegregation of all public schools in the Dist. of Columbia."

New York Age

SIX POINTS: He proposed (1) desegregating 18 white schools—15 elementary and three junior high—by Sept., 1954, the remainder by Sept., 1955; (2) merging white McKinley and Negro Armstrong high schools by transferring 300 from Armstrong; (3) no complete merging of colleges now, "since there is not at present any building available which can accommodate so large an institution"; (4) the Negro and white teachers' colleges, Minor and Wilson, to be "opened to qualified students regardless of race"; (5) lists of Negro and white teachers to be merged and Negro and white examiners' boards combined.

Before they unanimously voted acceptance of the plan on June 2, the board was split, three Negroes against five whites. The Negro members argued for "complete integration" by this September. Corning argued that the President's wish for a "model" could not be realized before 1955: "Too rapid progress . . . would be a bad example."

SOUTH CAROLINA: In Summerton, Clarendon County, where the historic legal battle was started by Negro parents and pupils three years ago, most of the 1,100 Negroes will be ready by September. Most of the whites, according to **AP**, "are militantly opposed to racial integration in the schools or anywhere else." **AP**'s Saul Pett wrote:

> "Here in Summerton the white position is clear and strong. If integration is forced on them, they say, they'll send their children to private schools. There is some talk of raising money for such schools by private subscription. Most of Summerton's whites fear school contact would lead to social contact and social contact would lead to intermarriage. That one word, intermarriage, is the end fear in all the discussions and leads to the inevitable question, 'Would you want your daughter to marry a Negro?'"

A Summerton Negro tenant farmer, William Hilton (13 children) told Pett:

> "Colored people aren't specially anxious to start marrying whites. If a daughter of mine wanted to marry a white man it'd be up to her. I didn't want any dictation along that line. I married who I wanted. . . ."

Morgan Hilton, 16, said he "never wished I was white; I just wished many times I was treated like the whites." His 19-year-old brother Leroy added:

> "In the movies we go up to 'buzzards' roost' [the jimcrow balcony]. When there's a good picture, we'll be standing up there even though there're empty seats downstairs. My feeling is we pay as much, we ought to be able to sit anywhere. Every time I go I get mad, but I don't say anything."

Henrietta Hilton, 14, said she'd "like to go to school with white children" and just didn't like "to segregate myself." She'd "like to pick friends on another basis" than color. She thought she'd "enjoy being friends with some white girls"—and perhaps they might "enjoy being friends with me."

S. Carolina Gov. Byrnes (**UP**, 6/3) "suggested that Clarendon county . . . could close its schools for a year if the court this fall decreed that they be desegregated at once."

DELAWARE: Gov. J. Caleb Boggs immediately ordered State Board of Education to "work toward the adjustment" of Delaware's jimcrow public school system to the court's decision. Integration is expected to be completed by September, with or without aid from the court's final decree.

State Press, Little Rock

"Still thinking in the past."

VIRGINIA: Its Education Board declared (**AP**, 5/27) that it would not begin "integrating Negro and white pupils in the same schools this fall."

KANSAS: Its Board of Education reported to the N. Y. **Times** (5/18) that there were "three or four" towns where

> ". . . Negro and white schools [do not operate] under segregation laws, but they are maintained this way largely because the races live in separate sections. . . . School buildings in most, if not all, Kansas systems enforcing segregation are equal for both races."

Efforts apparently are under way to comply with the court decision by Sept. Kansas is among the four states where jimcrow schools were "permissive." Arizona, New Mexico and Wyoming were the others.

ARIZONA: Three Negro students last year sued for admission to a "white" school. A county judge ruled in their favor. Since then desegregation has been proceeding gradually throughout the state.

NEW MEXICO: Nothing in the state constitution provides for or prevents "the establishment of segregated schools." It is not clear whether the Supreme Court decision affects New Mexico's Indians, who "largely attend segregated schools operated by the U. S. Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Dept. of Interior" (**NYT**, 5/18).

WYOMING: A **Times** roundup reported: "Because the race problem is so negligible in the state the matter of school segregation has never been a problem."

GEORGIA and MISSISSIPPI: With S. Carolina, these states make up the diehard triumvirate pledged to preserve jimcrow schools to the bitter end. Georgia's Gov. Talmadge is quoted as declaring that "no amount of judicial brain-washing is going to change Georgia's customs." The state's Federation of Labor (**FP**, 5/26) called on state officials to obey the Supreme Court decision and the Rotarians (**NYT**, 5/18) "greeted [the announcement] with some applause" at a Savannah meeting. Mississippi's legislature had already taken steps to circumvent the decision.

Representatives of 12 Southern states —Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, N. Carolina, S. Carolina, W. Virginia, Virginia—reached in conference "uniformity of attitude" (**NYT**, 6/11) against voluntary compliance with the court order. Other states sent "regrets," because "their individual problems were capable of being adjusted in conformity with the court's ruling as it now stood."

The Georgia way of life

Tom Linder, one of six candidates for the Georgia governorship, suggested today that the state establish mixed and segregated schools but he wants white pupils who desire to attend classes with Negroes given mental examinations first.

Linder said that any white students desiring to attend a mixed school, along with Negroes, "obviously was mentally ill" and that the state should establish a board of physicians to examine such students to determine what treatment they should be given.

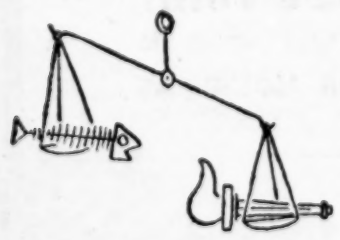
—**UP** dispatch from Atlanta, June 25.

Brownell bills

(Continued from Page 1)

The LLPE bulletin said:

> "'Communist-infiltrated' is a new concept. . . . It just means having one or more employes on the payroll who might be adjudged by very loose standards to be security risks. If the [Subversive Activities Control] Board decided the business or union is 'infiltrated,' then it would order the complete liquidation of that business or union. . . . It is important to remember that these two vicious proposals are not just the suggestions of one obscure Senator. Both are the official policy being actively pushed by this Administration. . . ."



UNION-BUSTERS: Eleanor Roosevelt in her newspaper column "wondered" if the bills "are not aimed more at weakening labor unions than actually at protecting us from Communism." The Women's Trade Union League bulletin wrote:

> "The Atty. General is sponsoring several bills now before Congress which would completely destroy the functioning of unions."

The influential Louisville **Courier-Journal** and the St. Louis **Post-Dispatch** have both editorialized against the measures.

"TIRED OF INTERRUPTIONS": Among witnesses testifying against them in Washington was Royal Wilbur France representing the Natl. Lawyers Guild, who pointed out the unconstitutionality of both. Of the proposal to banish from employment persons suspected of a tendency to "subversion," he said:

> "There is no justification and there can be none for such unbridled invasions into the daily lives of ordinary working people, and to sanction such invasion by allowing government officials to destroy a citizen's reputation and earning power without judicial safeguards of any kind is the most flagrant flaunting of the whole basis of a free society."

Before France finished his prepared testimony, which was broken off to allow another witness to take the stand, Rep. Graham said to him:

> "I'm getting tired of your interruptions. Now you get out of this room."

A MUST FOR THE 4TH: Joseph Selly, pres. of the independent American Communications Assn., told the committee the bills are

> ". . . a concerted effort by big business to cripple and render impotent the organized labor movement so as to permit them a free hand in carrying out their plans for increased profits through speed-up, wage cuts and generally worsened conditions of work."

A spokesman for the Intl. Fur & Leather Workers Union also testified, and the natl. executive board of the CIO Packinghouse Workers Union condemned the bills. In a letter to all locals and leaders of his union, UE pres. Albert Fitzgerald wrote:

> "With the Fourth of July weekend approaching, most Senators and Congressmen will be home. Despite the holiday week-end, can't every local union and staff member guarantee that every Congressman and Senator receive a minimum of phone calls or telegrams in opposition to the Brownell-Reed-Ferguson bills? Wherever possible, delegations should be organized to see them. Community leaders, clergymen, AFL and CIO members should be urged to join this campaign."

On June 30 it was announced that a Senate Judiciary subcommittee headed by Sen. William Langer (R-N.D.) will begin hearings on the bills July 3.

Let Congress know

The Wall Street Journal and the National Guardian are seldom found on the same side of the editorial fence.

Both publications, one representing business and the other a trumpeter for left-wing causes, registered strong opposition last week to one of Atty. Gen. Brownell's proposals to plug loopholes in the 1950 Internal Security Act. The proposal, now before Congress, would make it possible to destroy a private business or a union if the Subversive Activities Control Board determined such an organization is Communist-infiltrated. . . . The Journal points out . . . the new bill is so broad that it raises the question as to whether the Subversive Activities Board could not seize the property as well as liquidate the business or union. The newspaper finds the language of the bill so broad and vague that it could be a catchall to injure innocent people.

"The trouble with Mr. Brownell's bill," says the Journal, "is that he here seeks not to expose organizations or to punish people for what they have done, but to punish people for what they may be in a position to do." Freedom of speech and press safeguards are overlooked.

The Wall Street Journal is not one to espouse leftist causes. Its warning should carry weight.

—Salt Lake City **Tribune**, June 12.

To the above, an Amen from the "trumpeter"—which makes no apology for sometimes agreeing with the WSJ. If you agree with both of us, write and tell your Congressmen so TODAY.

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THE TARGET: SOCIAL PROGRESS AND THE NEW DEAL HERITAGE

Behind Congress' probe of foundations

By Lawrence Emery

A CURRENT Congresional inquiry, getting much less publicity than the big shows, is now spelling out the true meaning of the McCarthy-Eisenhower-Brownell mania for "digging out subversives." The real enemy is social progress; the aim is to expunge the New Deal from the memory of man, to convict Franklin D. Roosevelt posthumously as an arch-traitor, and to impose Stone Age politics upon the country.

This is the thesis being worked on by a special House Committee headed by Rep. Brazilla Carroll Reece (R.-Tenn.), one-time chairman of the GOP Natl. Committee (1946-1948): that U.S. scholars, educators and researchers, with money grants from such tax-free foundations as the Ford, Rockefeller

Herblock in Washington Post

"I guess they're trying to sell us on Socialism."

and Carnegie, "conspired" over a 50-year period to bring about the New Deal "revolution" by influencing educational processes to emphasize the will of the majority as against individual freedom.

DIABOLICAL STUFF: Proposing his investigation on July 27, 1953, Reece spoke of a "diabolical conspiracy" for "the furtherance of socialism in the U.S." He said the problem is

> ". . . not so much subversion as it is the extent to which the money of tax-exempt foundations is used for propaganda and to influence public opinion for the support of certain types of ideologies that tend to the left."

The House, by a vote of 209 to 163, authorized him

> ". . . especially to determine which [foundations] are using their resources for un-American and subversive activities; for political purposes, propaganda or attempts to influence legislation."

For his research director Reece chose Norman Dodd, an investment adviser for a member firm of the N.Y. Stock Exchange (Delafield & Delafield), who with a staff spent some six months working up a report to show that the foundations have promoted "mass education" contrary to "the public interest." Foundation money turned education "toward an international viewpoint" and backed ideas that are "incompatible with the fundamental concepts of our Constitution."

ROCKEFELLER POISON: This country, Dodd contends, went through a revolution between 1933 and 1936; it was peaceful and supported by "an overwhelming majority" because "education in the U.S. had prepared in advance to endorse it." He also found some foundations (chiefly Rockefeller and Carnegie) guilty of:

> "Directing education toward an international viewpoint and discrediting the traditions to which it had been dedicated.
>
> "Training individuals and servicing agencies to render advice to the Executive Branch of the Federal Government. . . .
>
> "Changing both school and college curricula to the point where they sometimes denied the principles underlying the American way of life.
>
> "Financing experiments designed to determine the most effective means by which education could be pressed into service of a political nature."

The Dodd report spelled out the "conspiracy":

> ". . . Our study of these activities and their relationship to each other seems to warrant the inference that they constitute a highly efficient, functioning whole . . . it contrasts sharply with the freedom of the individual as the cornerstone of our social structure. For this freedom, it seems to substitute the group, the will of the majority, and a centralized power to enforce this will, presumably in the interest of all."

The report also noted that

> ". . . it is difficult to avoid the feeling that . . . this common interest [among the foundations] lies in the planning and control of certain aspects of American life through a combination of the Federal Government and education. . . . This may explain why the foundations . . . seem to have used their influence to transform education into an instrument for social change."

WIND IN THE BELLY: The Reece probers began hearings in May; most sessions have been stormy because Rep. Wayne L. Hays of Ohio, one of the committee's two Democrats, has vigorously challenged the Reece thesis. It was Hays who trapped Thomas M. McNiece, associate research director for the probe, into describing excerpts from papal encyclicals as "closely comparable" to Communist literature he had read and stating that the thoughts expressed "paralleled very closely communistic ideals." This is one excerpt, by Pope Pius XI in 1931:

> "Every effort must therefore be made that fathers of families receive a wage sufficient to meet adequately ordinary domestic needs. If in the present state of society this is not always feasible, social justice demands that reforms be introduced without delay which will guarantee every adult working man such a wage. . . ."

McNiece also called most New Deal measures socialistic "to a degree."

On June 17 Hays caused a sudden recess to allow the committee to "cool off" after he quoted from the Book of Job in answer to the committee's associate counsel:

> "Should a wise man utter vain knowledge, and fill his belly with the east wind?"

One committee witness testified that Jack London helped British Fabian socialism establish a beach-head here, and argued that the Constitutional amendment of 1913 establishing the federal income tax (sponsored by Cordell Hull) was part of a plot to socialize the U.S.

DINOSAURS AT WORK: There has been little public response to the hearings. The N.Y. **Times** (5/13) found the committee report "alarming" because "it indicates a belief that intellectual advancement, if any, must conform to a rigid pattern of thought set to the 18th century." It also feared the committee was "heading into a frontal assault on the whole spirit of free inquiry as it has been promoted and advanced by the foundations of the last half-century."

The Madison, Wis., **Capital-Times** on May 15 noted that "the dinosaur Republicans in Congress are going ahead with their investigaton of tax-exempt foundations for the purpose of smearing them and perhaps ultimately depriving them of the exemption." Prof. Robert W. Gregg of Cornell's Dept. of Government, in a letter to **NYT** (5/28), expressed "both disgust and anxiety" at the hearings and asked:

> "Where does this incredibly persistent campaign for conformity end? What are these 'American traditions' which are so desperately in need of citizen vigilante committees, a 'For America' party and Congressional scrutiny of the Ford Foundation to keep them alive? They would seem to be Washington's Farewell Address, quoted out of time and context, and the doctrine of laissez-faire, totally unencumbered except for rigid tariff walls."

CURRICULA AND APPLES: On June 13 Americans for Democratic Action demanded that the House halt the hearings as "a frontal attack on learning itself" and "repudiate this march of know-nothings." Pendleton Herring, pres. of New York's Social Science Research Council, had this to say:

> "The dangers here are not simply the more obvious threats of totalitarian rule, but likewise (and more insidious for us in the U.S.) the dangers of prejudice, malice, and wishful thinking. Authoritarianism that denies the freedom of the individual to study, to question, to inquire, to form his own opinions on controversial matters, is not always expressed through conspiratorial parties, concentration camps, and secret police."

Arthur S. Adams, pres. of the American Council on Education, had a sharp question: would the committee's research director seriously contend

> ". . . that the farmers who roamed the roads of Iowa with pitchforks and shotguns in the early Thirties, or the industrial workers who stood in mile-long breadlines, or the veterans who sold apples on street corners, or the bankrupt busines men who jumped from ten-story windows did so because of something in their educational curriculum?"

A Senator is amazed

Sen. Robert C. Hendrickson, chairman of a special Senate subcommittee investigating juvenile delinquency . . . said a recent poll of 3,500 high school students in New Jersey showed: 12% did not consider stealing particularly wrong; 15% saw no traits of delinquency in destruction of property; 17% saw nothing wrong with sex abuses; about 75% "brushed aside lying and cheating as acts which are not considered delinquent." [He] called the survey "rather amazing" . . . quoted Prof. Warren L. Duncan as saying: ". . . We see here that lying and cheating is a normal way of life. Certainly this presents us with a challenge, especially when we hear the charge on every hand that you cannot believe or trust a Communist. Perhaps we had better go back to the teaching of the Ten Commandments."

—UP from Washington, June 16.

B. CARROLL REECE
Ford, Lenin and Rockefeller

Franklin D. Roosevelt — the unmentionable name

June 22 was the 10th anniversary of the GI Bill of Rights. An official Veterans Administration release noting the occasion read: "The law, signed by Franklin D. Roosevelt on June 22, 1944, contained three major benefits. . . . On signing the GI bill in 1944, the President said. . . ."

A VA official told **AP** (6/23) that after 3,500 of the releases had gone out, "some GOP Congressmen lodged 'protests' [and] objected to any mention of Roosevelt's name." In a second batch, the release was revised to read: "The bill, signed into law June 22, 1944, contained three major benefits. . . . On signing the GI bill in 1944, the White House said. . . ."

AND COTTON MATHER BLUSHED IN HIS GRAVE

Lock Granny in the attic — the Reds are coming!

THE Boston **Post**, established 1831, once was an almost literate paper with the biggest circulation in New England (it still sells over 300,000 each morning). A few years ago it was bought by a hustler named John Fox, whose soul was washed by the oil of Texas and the love of Joe McCarthy. He reduced the paper's literacy several degrees and sensationalized it in a manner which raised the brow of a city long used to gawping headlines and lurid sex trials.

On June 3, the **Post** carried as "Today's Thought" on p. 1 this comment of John Ruskin: "Every right action and true thought sets the seal of its beauty on person and face." The same day's editorial by publisher Fox on p. 1 bore the headline: "The End of the Road—Us"—and the seal of truth or beauty was not upon it. In it he wrote:

> "It may come as a shock to the readers of this newspaper that one of the very first results of Communist domination of any nation, and this has been true everywhere on earth where the THING THAT IS COMMUNISM has first introduced itself to a conquered population, has been the en masse rape of the conquered nation's female population. By "female population," we mean girls and women from 12 to 72.
>
> ". . . All women between the ages of 12 and 72, the range is approximate,—the Communists were not fussy and erred both on the low and high sides were raped again, and again, and again, in private, and especially in public, and there were no exceptions. They delighted in the rape of nuns.
>
> ". . . In Czechoslovakia, Poland, Latvia, Lithuania, and Esthonia, all of whom were our friends, and none of whom were enemies of the Russians, the sight of women from 12 to 72 walking the streets with their skirts split from waist to hem, so that rape might be less painful, was common during the early stages of the Russian occupation."

Fox took to task U.S. Ambassador to the UN Henry C. Lodge, a most proper Bostonian, for not bringing the matter up, asked whether he's waiting till "we have to split the skirts of the children and grandmothers in New England" before he'll come to his senses: There are only a few nations left between "them and us."

The United Mine Workers plot a political course for organized labor

Formation by the Chicago Tribune's *Col. McCormick and other ex-America Firsters of the new independent political organization "For America"—a development "symptomatic of the deep widespread protest against current political leadership in both major parties"—inspired this "re-appraisal" (excerpted) in the* United Mine Workers Journal *May 15:*

THE [McCormick] movement . . . does represent the sense of frustration and anger of large segments of our people with the successive record of betrayals by Democratic and Republican administrations.

One of the basic things wrong with these more or less personal protest movements, whether from the right or the left, is that they omit the overwhelming mass of our population, especially that large and influential part that comprises organized labor. In the days of Teddy Roosevelt and LaFollette, union labor was a distinct minority, yet it was taken more seriously and its leadership was consulted on crucial policy matters more often than it is today when numerically it speaks for many more millions.

Of course, a major reason for this is the fact that organized labor is divided—that its own house is not in order—but an even more compelling factor is labor's surrender of its traditional nonpartisan role. . . .

LABOR cannot hope to be really effective in politics so long as it allows itself to become so identified with one party as to be taken for granted by that side and considered not worth consideration by the other.

Today, although organized labor has suffered one rebuff after another at the hands of the Eisenhower Administration, the AFL and CIO still faithfully follow and applaud the foreign policy of Dulles, who took over where Acheson left off, **and who is even better at creating synthetic crisis situations.** The Dulles specialty seems to be running around the world to hastily summoned and ill-planned "peace" conferences which produce new threats of war. . . .

"Well Maw . . . Ike said he'd bring the boys home and here we are. . . . Two from the steel mill and three from the auto works. . . ."

We wonder if labor is going to dog along at the heels of Dulles as he pursues his evident policy of involving us in every border incident and revolt in the jungles and deserts against colonial rule. Just why we should be so concerned about French possessions in Indo-China, when France will not even join other European nations in common defense of Europe, passes understanding.

And why labor should play second fiddle to a State Dept. policy that sacrifices vital domestic economic interests to some vague foreign policy is also beyond logical explanation. If there is any difference between the Dulles policy and the Acheson policy, which the people presumably repudiated at the polls, we would like to know what it is. . . .

A RETURN to first principles and to a time when it was possible to distinguish between a Democrat and a Republican is at least one goal that is eminently desirable. . . . The third party idea would not be so persistent if there was any real alternative offered by the two major parties.

In a negative sense, each of the two big parties condemns the other, but the only real quarrel is the traditional one between the "ins" and the "out." Neither offers an affirmative policy. **It's the old "tweedledee" and "tweedledum" all over again.**

What we need are some members of Congress who have a sense of history, an understanding of the economics of our society, who are not taken by surprise in every new crisis, whether foreign or domestic. Less cheap demagoguery and partisan politics and a little more careful study of the background factors that erupt into headlines from time to time is what the times call for on Capitol Hill and in the White House.

The burning questions revolving about widespread unemployment, foreign trade policy, threats of war, atomic energy and other paramount issues require the concentrated attention of whatever statesmanship we posses.

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Not Long

(Though It Seems Long)

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The tide is out, the rocks are bare and dead,
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In Washington the rich are planning war
And how to screw more taxes from the poor.
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They will stand up with anger in their eyes.

Hugh Hardyman

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NEW YORK

No easy choice for the judges at the Chinese Children's Beauty Contest

Two hundred children from six months to six years gathered in Columbus Park, back of the Civic Center, in downtown Manhattan last Saturday to vie for trophies in the annual contest sponsored by the Chinese Community Club. Among others the judges chose a wong (king) and wong-nong (queen). Above, watchful mothers register their children (note the little miss with an eye for the camera). Center, a slightly wilted mother (it went up to 90 degrees) waits while her son, with ancient head-dress, sips a container of modern milk. Younger brother is a fascinated spectator. Right, grandfather provides a comfortable cushion for a contender who takes a rather jaundiced view of the camerawoman. ASP Photo Workshop

POLITICS

GOP, Dems bless Donovan, Liberals balk; Marc still mum

IN Manhattan's 18th CD Tammany Hall was facing a major test. In the name of keeping Vito Marcantonio out of Congress, could it again force Rep. James G. Donovan down the throats of labor leaders and rank-and-filers?

In 1950 Marcantonio climaxed his 12 years as the nation's outstanding — and for many years only — progressive voice in Congress by speaking out against the Korean War. His defeat became then a prime bi-partisan objective.

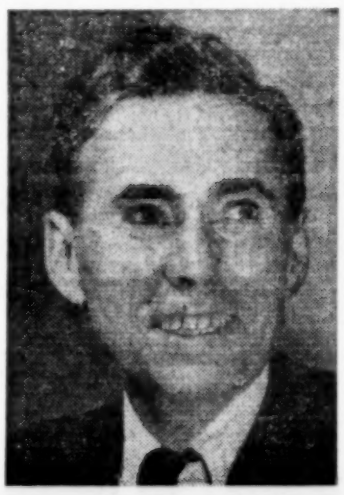
It was a political axiom in New York that the 18th was Marc's district. He could be defeated only by a bi-partisan coalition; the Liberal Party, weakest in the district, tagged along to make it tri-partisan. Republicans, Democrats and Liberals merged differences to back Donovan against Marcantonio. Though Marcantonio, running on the American Labor Party line, polled more votes than did any other single party candidacy, the gang-up won and Donovan was elected.

GUESSING GAME: In 1952 the same gang-up won again. In office, Donovan was an unblushing reactionary on every major issue from Taft-Hartley (for it) to federal hospital construction (against it).

While Donovan was legislating against his constituents, Marcantonio seemed to be consolidating his strength. After resigning from the ALP chairmanship he filed organization certificates for the Good Neighbor Party, published a sprightly Yorkville monthly called the Good Neighbor, continued to fight and frequently to win housing battles in the district. Though he made no announcement of his intentions, it was widely reported that he was on his way back to Washington via the 18th.

CITRON CHALLENGE: The mere formation of the Good Neighbor Party, without fanfare, revived the tri-partisan talk of coalition behind Donovan. The Republicans promptly backed him. Among the Democrats there was some hesitation at lower levels. Some party circles offered as an alternative Assemblyman Louis Cioffi or Caspar H. Citron.

On June 26 the deal was sealed at the Tammany wigwam. A few voices were raised against Donovan by Democrats who thought he was bi-partisan on the Republican side. Before the meeting Tammany chief DeSapio (who had already given Donovan the nod) said he got a letter from Morris Iushewitz, secy. of the N.Y. City CIO Council, objecting to Donovan. He added that "groups" in both AFL and CIO had written in to support Donovan but he failed to identify them.



REP. DONOVAN
My constituents last

The movement to back Assemblyman Cioffi fizzled but William H. Davis, former chairman of the War Labor Board, kept a fire going in the Caspar Citron movement. He promised Citron would make a primary fight, wired labor leaders urging their support.

LIBERALS BALK: The only swift response came from the Liberal Party. In a letter signed by exec. director Ben Davidson the party said: "We are against reaction of the Right as well as reaction of the Left. . . . We have effectively eliminated a fellow-traveler of the Left. We cannot and will not support one who has become a fellow-traveler of the extreme Right."

Marcantonio kept all hands guessing. He commented only in answer to DeSapio's reflections on patriotism. Citing DeSapio's testimony before the N.Y. State Crime Commission in 1952, Marcantonio said the Tammany leader had been passed over in the draft although "the work that he claimed to be essential was that of collecting rents for his father. . . . It is high time the people knew the facts about these characters who are today hiding their political skulduggery behind the flag."

POWELL OPPOSED: Another Democratic primary shaped up in the 12th AD, where Herbert L. Bruce said he would oppose Rep. Adam Clayton Powell. Powell won the regular machine's backing, but Dist. Leader Bruce has dug himself into the district and may draw undercover support from elements within the party. Last year Bruce backed Impellitteri. When the district was cut off from Wagner's patronage, he began to organize to win back some of the patronage and mend his fences for a fight.

The campaign for governor was in full swing. Rep. Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr. had toured the up-state counties harvesting endorsements from county chairmen. At last count he had netted 234; he needs 510 to guarantee the nomination. Among those bagged was that of Albany's tough and potent O'Connell machine.

Gov. Dewey was going through a rigamarole of elaborately-planted stories of his retirement, coupled with firm statements that he would neither confirm nor deny them. In the past this has been a prelude to accepting the nomination. In case he means it, Sen. Ives was warming up in the bull pen.

Foreign born rally Wednesday, July 7

A meeting protesting denial of bail and forcible questioning of non-citizens facing deportation will be held at 8 p.m., Wed., July 7, at the Cornish Arms Hotel, 311 W. 23d St. Sponsor is the N.Y. Comm. for the Protection of Foreign Born.

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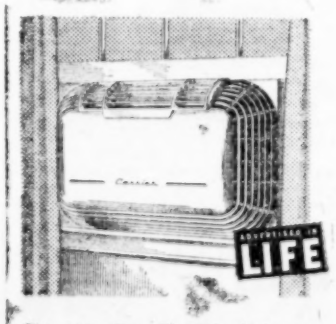

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THE facts and effects of unemployment, speed-up, the drive against labor and the small farmer, and war, are conveniently inter-related in **Depression, Hard Facts vs. Soft Soap** by Joseph Morton (Pacific Publishing Foundn., 590 Folsom St., San Francisco 5, Calif.; 31 pp., 5c). The pamphlet is a plea for labor to "awaken to a sense of its own power" to check the "drift to catastrophe" politically in 1954. —I. K.

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THE SIEGE OF 117TH STREET

Ten families battle new kind of eviction ruse: landlord will make repairs—they lose their homes

Guardian photo by Ione Kramer

VIOLATIONS TURN THE CLOCK BACK

Robert General (l.), grade 7, did his last week of homework by oil-lamplight, while first-grader Earl (Pee Wee) watches after Con Edison turned off the lights for violations. Their family wants the violations fixed, but doesn't want to lose its apartment meanwhile. The window behind the boys was knocked out during a fire eight months ago. The family patched it up; the landlord wouldn't.

By Ione Kramer

FOR the last two weeks ten families have been living in their Harlem tenement without electricity, fighting to keep their homes in the face of a new eviction technique in which the landlord agrees to make overdue repairs but the tenant loses his home.

On Oct. 25, 1953, a fire gutted one apartment of the four-story building at 273 W. 117th St., swept up the dumb-waiter, ruined the kitchens at the end of the four-room railroad-flats. Landlord Oscar Jackson, 561 W. 159th St., collected the insurance money, used it for his second mortage, continued to collect his $230 a month rent, but did no fixing. Since the fire the tenants have been "camping" in the front half of their smoke-blackened apartments with windows broken, no heat or hot water, while winter drafts swept through great holes in walls and ceilings and out of the charred, gaping dumb-waiter shaft.

THE SHUSHED LANDLORD: Families patched what they could, but children got sick, one with pneumonia. For months, Jackson, who declared he wouldn't live in the house himself, ignored summonses from Magistrate John M. Murtagh's special housing court, while inspectors from every city apartment visited the house, left it without repairs. Tenants say there have been 7 smaller fires since October.

Last month landlord Jackson told the tenants he could not repair unless they all moved—on the authority of city Buildings and Housing Dept. inspector Joseph Ryan, who said that unless they did, the dumb-waiter could not be fixed. Tenants say Jackson wants to evict them with Ryan's help so he can convert to smaller apartments, raise the decontrolled rent. Tenant Mrs. Marie Morrison told the GUARDIAN she heard the landlord say so in court, "but his lawyer shushed him." Tenants, most of them families with children, say they couldn't pay more than the present $35 a month for an apartment of needed size.

INVISIBLE INSPECTOR: In Municipal Court inspector Ryan testified he had personally inspected each apartment on May 20, but could produce no records to prove it. Challenging him, four tenants testified under oath that they had been there all day and had never seen him there then or any other day. Under cross-examination, Ryan admitted he did not know where the dumb-waiter he was supposed to have inspected was located. Judge Thomas E. Rohan of the 17th Dist. Municipal Court took Ryan's word, ordered tenants out by June 24, but they got a last-minute stay of eviction. They are asking a re-inspection.

Harlem Tenant Council director Jesse Gray cited a situation last year at 107 W. 114th St., where inspector Ryan had backed up another landlord in evicting for repairs. Later the Muncipal Court jury decided the repairs were minor and nobody had to move. At least 10 other houses in the 117th St. neighborhood and thousands of tenants all over the city are threatened with similar "evictions," says Gray.

THE LAW: Under the state rent law (Sec. 52, par. 3), according to tenants' lawyer Sam Levy, residents may only be evicted when the violation was created by them. The violations from the 117th St. fire, and other similar cases, are not the tenants' fault; under the law they should retain title to their apartments, even if they have to move out temporarily while the landlord

(Continued on Page 11)

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FEINBERG LAW TOO

N.Y. bar seeks to oust lawyers who use '5th'

THE N.Y. State Bar Assn. last week leveled fire against its own members and the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution. Its exec. committee adopted a 6,000-word report proposing legislation that would suspend from practice any lawyer who used the Fifth in testifying about "subversion" before a "legitimate examining body."

Under the proposed laws, a lawyer's statement based on the Fifth Amendment that answering would tend to incriminate or degrade him would be taken at "face value," deemed "prima facie evidence" for his immediate suspension. He would have to clear himself by proving his "loyalty" before the Appellate Division of the State Supreme Court before he could practice.

A second proposed law, which a Bar Assn. committee was assigned to write, would extend to lawyers the Feinberg Law under which teachers may be fired for membership in any organization called "subversive" by the State Board of Regents.

A statment released by the N.Y.C. chapter of the Natl. Lawyers Guild called the action "a grave disservice to the Bar as an abandonment of its best traditions."

FREEDOM SONG

By Aaron Kramer

My heart announced it to the hills,
and the hills passed it on to the breeze,
and the breeze went crying to my brothers:
will you rise up from your knees!

Will you rise up from your knees,
and roll the forbidden drums—
for your time in Egypt is over,
and the hour of judgment comes!

(From the new volume of Kramer's poems, Roll the Forbidden Drums!, to be published by Cameron & Kahn this summer.)

Housing siege

(Continued from Page 10)

fixes. Levy told GUARDIAN:

"It's important for tenants all over the city to know this right. Unfortunately, most tenant groups haven't the money to carry their cases beyond the Municipal Court, which most often decides against them. The Appellate Divn. of the State Supreme Court has upheld tenants' rights to their apartments. A ruling from the State Rent Commn. could save thousands of tenants' homes."

THE CAMPAIGN: Meanwhile the ten families at 273 W. 117th St. are sitting tight—in candlelight. Two weeks ago Con. Edison turned off their lights, apparently for the eight-month-old violations. "I don't know which was more dangerous," house chairman Mrs. R. C. Hansbury, a 17-year resident, said, "living with the exposed wiring left by the fire, or the lamps and candles we have now." There still have been no repairs, but the landlord was to be fined in Magistrate's Court July 1.

At tables set up on the sidewalk each Saturday, and at a mass meeting held June 23 in the Community Baptist Church at 2123 Eighth Av., the Harlem Tenant Councils are campaigning for 4,000 postcards to Mayor Wagner requesting an investigation of the entire system of Housing and Building inspection as now practised.

WHAT'S NEEDED: Director Jesse Gray asked the following improvements: a recheck on each inspector if tenants ask it; tenants should be informed in advance when an inspection is planned, so that they can point out violations that they know about; inspections made while tenants are home, in the evening if necessary; tenants should be informed when a landlord is to be prosecuted so that they may furnish information they may have.

Gray pointed out that city inspectors keep an eagle-eye out for people who dispose of garbage carelessly, fine individuals $10 to $15 for throwing paper; but landlords go unprosecuted for months while tenants live with dangerous violations.

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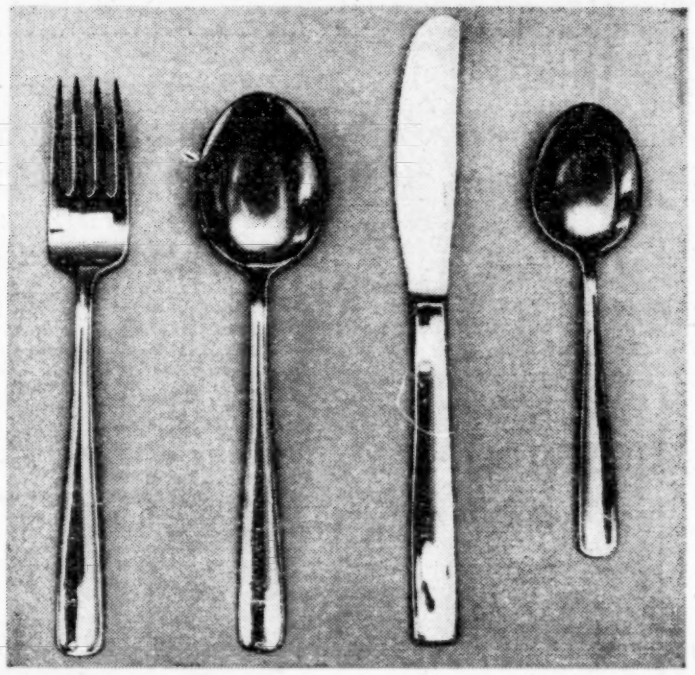

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•

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the SPECTATOR

Horse-thieving must go!

By Edwin A. Rothschild

(From Fellowship, magazine of the Fellowship of Reconciliation)

THE horse thieves must be stopped. No state has effective laws to stop them. In Illinois, for example, the only statute directed at horse thieves is the Act of March 2, 1875 (Ill. Rev. Stat., ch. 38, sec. 397), which provides as follows:

Horse stealing. Whoever feloniously takes or steals away any horse, mule, or ass shall be imprisoned in the penitentiary not less than three nor more than 20 years. The words "horse," "mule," "ass" shall include animals of both sexes* and all ages.

The law is inadequate. It punishes no one except the person who has been caught stealing a horse. The typical horse thief does not get caught stealing horses. He steals horses without getting caught or else he does not steal horses at all. Either device enables him to slip through the loopholes of the law.

We need a new law which defines the thief as well as the horse; which will expose horse thieves and drive them from public life. A bill for such a law is submitted herewith.

Section 1. Definitions

(a) "Horse" means each and every animal which can be identified as a horse, including, without limiting the generality of the foregoing, plough horses, saddle horses, cow ponies, milk horses, race horses, mules, burros, asses, donkeys, ponies, colts, nags, mustangs, and every other horse of every kind, nature, and handicap whatsoever, of any one or more or less sexes,* sizes, weights, ages, races, creeds, colors, or combinations thereof.

(b) "Horse thief" means any person who steals, attempts to steal, or aids in the stealing of a horse, or advocates, abets, advises, or teaches by any means any person to steal, attempt to steal, or aid in the stealing of a horse, or in the commission of any act intended to facilitate the stealing of horses or who is a member of or affiliated with any horse-thief front organization.

(c) "Horse-thief front organization" means any organization, corporation, company, partnership, association, trust, foundation, fund, club, society, committee, political party, gang, or group permanently or temporarily associated together for action or advancement of views on any subject or subjects one of the purposes of which is advocating, abetting, advising, or teaching the desirability of any action, advocacy, abetting, advice, or instruction, which will advance or facilitate in any material respect the stealing of horses.

Under this section no one will be able to deny he is a horse thief merely because he has not stolen a horse.

The crypto-horse thief menace

Section 2. It shall be a felony to be a horse thief.

This is preventive jurisprudence. It is folly to await the commission of a crime before restraining the criminal. Why lock the stable after the horse is stolen?

Section 3. Any person convicted of violating Section 2 shall be imprisoned in the penitentiary for not less than fifteen or more than one hundred years.**

Section 4. No person shall hold any office of trust or profit within the state or be employed by any agency of the state or by any agency receiving tax exemption from or paying taxes to the state unless he shall take the following oath:

"I swear (or affirm) that I am not now and never have been and will not be, during my term of office or employment, a horse thief, a crypto-horse thief,*** or associated in any way with any agency heretofore or hereafter designated as a horse-thief front organization by any federal, state, county, or municipal official."

This is a very effective provision. It is a well-known fact that no horse thief would dare to take a false oath. Other people should be proud to swear that they are not horse thieves.

* Some people steal geldings.

** Sentimentalists may say this section is severe. Have they thought of what the horse thieves would do if they were in power?

*** One who, if he had seen a horse and could have stolen it, would have liked to. Webster, 3rd ed.

The Return of Hiawatha

From the Islands of the Blessed
Came the ghost of Hiawatha,
And the lovely Minnehaha;
Wandered they through New York City,
Wondering at the flashing symbol
Of the goddess Ko-ka-ko-la,
Ko-ka-ko-la, Brownish Water.

Then the valiant Hiawatha
Lit his Pipe of Peace and smoked it,
And the smoke rose slowly, slowly,
Till policemen rudely seized them,
Taking them to Jo-ma-kar-thee,
Jo-ma-kar-thee, Sewer Water.

"Who are these?" asked Jo-ma-kar-thee,
"Who are these who come before me?"
"Sir, the guy is Hiawatha,
"And the dame is Minnehaha:
"Picked 'em up in town this morning,
"Smoking Pipes of Peace on Wall Street."

Then the awful Jo-ma-kar-thee
Fumed and raged like a volcano:
"Un-American Behavior!
"Worse than Robin Hood of Sherwood!
"Fling them in a dreadful dungeon!
"Dupes of Moscow! Dirty Redskins!"

So the ghost of Hiawatha,
And the lovely Minnehaha,
Sadder, infinitely wiser,
Winged away, no more returning,
Winged away from New York City,
To the Island of the Blessed,
To the Land of the Hereafter.

—Roland L. Meek